

FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

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FIVE CENTS

Notes and Comments

Dictatorships and Economics:

With dictatorships and despotisms of one kind or another in nearly every country in Europe, and with every one of them arming to the teeth in spite of the League of Nations, Consultative Pacts and what not, the man or woman who wants peace and well-being for all finds it more difficult every day to reconcile himself to the conditions surrounding him. And yet, perhaps, it is possible, or even probable, that "it is always darkest just before dawn." The suffering, starvation and indignities men will undergo before they revolt are always an unknown quantity, but it does seem as if the limit is within sight. The results of the Austrian blood bath in an economic sense should have been obvious to every intelligent person, but when men are blinded by hate and greed reason is obscured and logic is an unknown factor.

In spite of the talk of Socialists in this country to the effect that Vienna was until recently the "garden spot of Europe," Vienna is a dying city and Austria a bankrupt State. Notwithstanding this, the Catholic Church and its pious son Dolfuss alienate forty percent of the population and inflict a still more crushing burden on the people by increasing the army and police. The middle class swallowed the lies of the government that taxation would be reduced and now find that it will be increased to maintain a larger armed force. The inevitable result must be further disintegration, and the pact made with Mussolini, head of another bankrupt State, will not save it.

The New York Times of March 28th carries a dispatch from Berlin giving the semi-military budget, as revealed in the second budget of the Hitler Government and published in the *Official Gazette*, for the fiscal year 1934-35.

Decreed by the Cabinet on March 22nd, it balances revenues and expenditures at 6,458,281,000 marks, 600,000,000 more than the first Hitler budget. The expenses for Army and Navy are 200,000,000-odd marks more than last year; the Air Ministry jumped from 78,000,000-odd to over 210,000,000; and whereas nothing was spent on Storm Troops and the Labor Service Army in 1932 and 1933 this year it will be 250,000,000. The total for all the above was, in round figures, 674,000,000 in 1932, 749,000,000 in 1933 and 1,354,000,000 for this year. This for the government of a nation whose export trade is falling off at such a rate that it alternately whines and threatens reprisals. Economists have forecast what would happen ever since Hitler came to power. May the crash come soon,

for perhaps it will not only cause the German people to awake but will pull down with it such monstrosities as those other Governments which derive their powers direct from God, as in Austria today and bloody Italy.

Strikes, Economics and the Ruling Class:

The threatened strikes in the auto industry and on the railways, as well as the taxi war in New York, are evidence, if any is needed, of the warfare between reason and habit. It has become self-evident as a result of the agitation during the past year, coincident with the New Deal, that the one and only way to achieve a revival of industry is to provide "greater purchasing power for the mass." As Roosevelt pointed out in his last radio talk to millions of listeners, 80 per cent of the purchasing in the country is done by families with incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. In other words, to climb out of that condition which has resulted in reducing the total income of the country by more than 50 per cent since 1929, and to avoid a surplus of goods which cannot be bought, we must distribute a larger percentage of the wealth amongst the masses. This has been so conclusively proven and so widely diffused that one would suppose even the capitalist class would have heard it and profited by it. As a matter of fact they have heard of it and know it quite as well as we do, but having practiced predatory habits for most of their lives they are unable to change even when they know it to be for their own good. And so we find them sabotaging the Recovery Act, which was intended for their own preservation, until it has slowed down to a walk and threatens to stand still altogether. The railway magnates propose a cut of 15% and then talk of assisting the President. The auto manufacturers fight tooth and nail against an organization which, as some of the more intelligent of their own class say, is, with the Catholic Church, the bulwark of our institutions. And the taxi owners organize a union whose representatives say they do not object to a 16-hour day, and publish broadsides against the union organized independently by some of the men, and will of course do their best to lower the standard of living for the drivers of the taxis.

"Industrial recovery is now under way with 'irresistible force'," says Alfred P. Sloane, Jr., president of the General Motors Corporation, and to prove it he submits a report of the company for the year 1933 which shows the following:

Sales for 1932, \$432,311,868. Sales for 1933, \$569,010,542. On this increase of \$136,000,000 in business the net profit increased from \$164,979 in 1932 to \$83,213,675 last year and from a loss of 21 cents a share in 1932 the "earnings" last year were equivalent to \$1.72. In 1933 the average number of employees

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FASCISM—

WHAT IT HAS DONE TO THE ITALIAN PEOPLE

Sir Oswald Mosley and Lord Rothermere are busy telling the British public the marvellous things Fascism would do if it went into power, hoping to persuade Britons to become slaves in return for such a millennium of prosperity.

Shall we see what Mussolini and Fascism (who are taken as the model to be copied) have done to Italy during the eleven years of unrestricted domination they have enjoyed? Surely no better and more convincing proof could be given, and the following facts are all taken from Fascist or League of Nations statistics and publications, and have therefore an indisputable value as proof; we are ready to give to anyone the exact date and where these documents can be seen and checked, and we can therefore guarantee their truth.

Let us begin with trade; the best indexes are undoubtedly the number of bankruptcies, the amount of promissory notes protested for non-payment, railway traffic, course of shares and amounts invested in limited companies. These are the official Italian statistics.

Bankruptcies (monthly averages):

1922 (last year of democratic rule) 321

1928 (after six years of Fascism) 970

1932 (after ten years of Fascism) 2,003

Over 6 times greater than 1922

Promissory notes protested:

1922—306,703; 1927—1,096,447; 1931—1,663,716;

Over 5 times greater than 1922

Railway Traffic:

Passengers carried in 1923—100,145,000;

Passengers carried in 1932—80,272,000—20% less.

Goods carried in 1922—44,540,000 tons;

Goods carried in 1933—36,970,000—18% less.

In the Stock Exchanges of Italy, Great Britain and U. S. A. the average rate for shares fell from December 1925 to December 1932 in the following percentages:

Italy—61% (from 164.74 to 64.26);

U. S. A.—48.65% (from 88.4 to 45.4);

U. K.—6.1% (from 116.5 to 109.4).

Another source of information is the number of forced sales of real property for non-payment of taxes; the increase is tragic.

1922—1,357; 1931—8,190 or 6 times as many.

Unemployment is far greater than it appears from the official figures, and it is impossible to ascertain its correct amount; a newspaper that cannot be suspected of anti-capitalistic tendencies, the "Financial Times", some time ago reckoned the number of unemployed at twice the official figure, which is well above the million mark.

Poverty and destitution are appalling and increasing, while the standard of living is steadily falling, as is amply proved by the following figures: The consumption of sugar has fallen from 3,470,000 quintals in 1927 to 2,995,000 in 1932, or 14%; this gives a

yearly consumption per head of about 15 pounds, against one of 98 pounds in Great Britain, and of 55 pounds in France.

Another commodity of absolute necessity, table salt, has also fallen heavily; from 295,000 tons in 1927, down to 178,000 in 1932, a figure 40% lower.

And if we look at something not absolutely necessary, we find naturally, even greater falls; beer, for instance, has passed from 987,000 hecto-litres in 1929 to 330,000 in 1932, equivalent to 66% in five years. The consumption of chocolate in Italy is equivalent to 6 ounces per head, per year, against three pounds in Great Britain.

Taxation has increased 50%, and is spent mostly for political and military purposes. It is characteristic that in the last budget (for 1932-3) the allocations for public works were reduced by an amount of 1,600 million Lire, while 600 millions were given to armaments.

Salaries have been reduced again and again, so that now they are from 35 to 50% below the rates for 1921, the year before Fascism; the textile workers and peasants have suffered most, for instance, the peasant who works for long hours in a rice field, with water up to his knees received Lire 21.80 per day in 1926; now he gets Lire 10.64; and he is well paid because the legal salary for an adult woman working in the fields is 0.65 lire (equal to 2½d) an hour, in the prosperous Milan district.

Coal consumed in Italy in 1932 was 5.8 million tons less than in 1929.

The total payroll was 6,040 million lire in 1929, but in 1932 it was only 4,100 millions.

We will give a few statistical data that will reveal in full the most tragic aspects of the misery.

Crimes against property (such as theft, house-breaking, frauds, etc.), have increased from 256,395 in 1931 to 304,909 in 1932; the increase is mostly due to petty pilfering and theft, often of foodstuff, caused by poverty.

And, last of all, deaths among babies on account of immaturity, weakness and defects at birth have risen 48% from 2,933 in 1926 to 4,340 in 1931.

Graft and corruption, protected by the lack of public control, have reached incredible heights, but the press, muzzled, cannot make it known.

This is the ghastly picture that truth gives us of the effects of Fascist Dictatorship in Italy; and the unhappy Italians have paid this disastrous economic result with the loss of all personal liberties; they can be arrested and kept in prison indefinitely, on suspicion, without trial. There is a terrible Special Tribunal, composed of Fascist officers, which in its first five years of life has sent 9 people to death, and 1,656 others to prison (and to what prisons!) for an aggregate of 10,321 years. People can be arrested (and are arrested in large numbers) on the flimsiest suspicion, and deported

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Anarchism in Bolshevism

By "AGIS"

The greatest problem facing the Anarchist since the War is summed up in the word "Russia." All revolutionists, all enemies of bourgeois society, have a natural sympathy with the Russian workers, who "stormed heaven" and, for the first time in history, set about the building of socialism. But all friends of freedom feel an equally natural repugnance for many aspects of the Russian Revolution. The increase in the power of the State under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is to the Anarchist a step backwards for which no industrial development can compensate. So it is with mixed feelings that the Anarchist looks at Russia, and these have their origin in the contradictions of Bolshevism itself, contradictions inherent in any revolutionary theory which does not make the abolition of the State its first principle. Anarchism is the very spirit of progress, and in revolutionary Bolshevism there is a leaven of Anarchism. From this spring the great achievements of the Russian Revolution: the Civil War was won by volunteer groups fighting for their freedom, and not by the conscript army of Trotsky; the success achieved by the "Five Year Plans" is due, not to Government decrees and "wreckers' trials," but to the creative energy and sacrifices of voluntary groups, of enthusiasts in the "shock brigades" and "Saturdayings," to the discussion of the Plans by the masses who carry them out, who are inspired by a great ideal and make it their own. Individual initiative and voluntary associations have done much, and without bureaucratic interference would have done more.

Where the power of the State exists, its fruits are not far to seek. The blunders of the bureaucratic machine afford jests for the capitalist press of the world; freedom of thought disappears under the censorship and the G. P. U.; the prisons are filled with Anarchists, Socialists, and even Bolsheviks who dare to doubt the new State "religion." The Collective Farm movement affords a good illustration of the opposing tendencies in Bolshevism; the State, true to its historic role, tried to force the peasants to abandon their individual holdings and join the "kolhoz"; the peasants replied with passive resistance, and the country was faced with famine. The Government realized its mistake in time, and ordered that collectivization should be voluntary, and rely solely on propaganda and example to gain members. These methods succeeded where force had failed.

Again and again the Bolsheviks have been forced by the logic of events to act anarchistically; the revolutionary achievements of the Russian revolution are the work of voluntary associations and individual initiative; the black features which mar these achievements are the work of the State.

We Anarchists are cold to statistics of industrial development and social services and ask just one question: "How has the Russian Revolution increased individual liberty and fostered the free development and expression of personality?" Until a satisfactory reply can be given the October revolution has been in vain.

The Modern School at Stelton

By ALEXIS FERM

Although the Modern School at Stelton has been carrying on as usual for the benefit of the children of the Colony—since October 1st with the help of Elizabeth and Alexis Ferm—the Living House of the School has, because of the unsettled question of proper management, made no attempt to reach those parents who cannot live in the Colony, but who would like their children to reap the benefits of freedom in education.

The Association has now secured the services of Mrs. Edith Van Buren, a young mother of culture and ability, who, besides knowing how to manage a home and get along with children, understands child psychology and has a feeling for the troubles and problems of children. Mrs. Van Buren has had some experience with summer groups but as this particular work is new to her she takes it up with considerable enthusiasm.

The rate at the Living House—only eight dollars per week for both board and tuition—is being kept as low as possible to meet the needs of workers and at the same time to provide proper food and care for the children. As the Association wishes to have children who will be able to grow up in the school, it is desirable that they shall be brought to us between the ages of five and eight, preferably five. Older children will be taken only where there are good reasons for their being entered at the School. Children who fret in the public schools because of lack of craft and other physical activities may be considered, though older.

The need for schools in which children, instead of being inoculated with misinformation and unusable facts, will have the opportunity for growth as thinkers and doers, must have become obvious to many through the present depression. School people have become active in attempts to change curricula to suit present needs and are trying to connect needful and creative activities with the life of the schools, as, for instance, at the Horace Mann School in New York.

But the constant pressure from the unthinking for mere book work in the schools makes it difficult for smaller schools to change the class rooms into work shops and art rooms. Academic work by itself has little or no value, but when a child learns the facts about, and qualities of, things through the use he tries to make of them, he gains true knowledge, not mere information. Especially does he gain knowledge of himself as he expresses himself through materials, as he tries out his powers, his designs, his thought, his creative ability. In the attempt to pass a certain amount of information on to children and have them in turn pass examinations, there is no time to think of their growth. At the Modern School at Stelton the first thought is for the growth of the individual. Growth in character, thought, and love of freedom. The free man must think out ways and means for the life he wants to live. He cannot afford to leave such important matters to politicians and bankers.

Stelton, N. J., is 30 miles from N. Y. C. on the Pennsylvania Railroad. A card of inquiry will bring any further information that you may desire.

PHONE: New Brunswick 3207-R

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When sending manuscripts to FREEDOM, please type-write, double-space, and write on one side of the paper only.

—THE EDITOR

Notes and Comments

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was 137,764, a gain of 21,612 over the 116,152 employed in 1932, and the pay rolls last year totaled \$171,184,315 against \$143,255,070 in the preceding year. In other words, after a year of ballyhoo about redistributing the purchasing power of the nation to get us out of depression we find here one of the great industries of the nation showing an increase of 21,612 workers with an increase of payrolls of \$27,929,245 and an increase of profits of \$83,213,675; that is, *three and a half times the increase in wages*. At this rate we should reach the perfect state within a short time. And, irony upon irony, Mr. Sloane, who should be whooping it up for the N.R.A., surveys it with a critical eye. All of the above is taken from our favorite paper, *The New York Times*, for April 2nd. Surely it is authentic, for, as we know, *The Times* prints "all the news that's fit to print." Verily, "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and when the president of the General Motors Corporation has joined the Russian Grand Dukes now driving taxi cabs, no doubt he will remember when he sat on top of the world and made it listen to his diatribes against those red revolutionaries of the American Federation of Labor.

H. K.

SHORT REVIEWS

Uncle Sam's Devil's Island, by Philip Grosser with prefaces by Alexander Berkman and Alice Stone Blackwell, is a pamphlet setting forth in simple and touching language Grosser's experience as a conscientious objector in America during the World War. If after reading it one is inclined to weep over the in-

humanity of man to man one also feels exalted at knowing the heroism and nobility displayed by this man who alone pitted himself against the United States with its army, navy, militia, police, judges, jailers and all the other forces which make up the gigantic and impersonal machine that is government.

The pamphlet which was published by a group of friends can be obtained through H. Block, P. O. Box 93, Hanover Street Station, Boston, Mass. The price is fifteen cents and groups and organizations who wish to distribute it should communicate with comrade Block at the above address.

H. K.

The Bankers' Conspiracy! Which started the World Crisis, by Arthur Kitson. Published by Elliot Stock, 16 & 17 Paternoster Row, E.C., London, England. Price 2s.6d.

Arthur Kitson who wrote *A Scientific Solution of the Money Question* back in 1894 has been talking money ever since. A. F. who writes a biographical sketch of him, printed as a preface to the present work, claims that Mr. Kitson has made at least one speech a week during the past forty years. But Mr. Kitson says that this is an underestimate. However, 52 speeches a year multiplied by forty make a considerable total and as he also spent a minimum of \$100,000 of his own money to expound his ideas the subject must be more than a mere hobby with him. He appeared before the MacMillan Committee at Westminster in May, 1930, and was the only witness to appear before that body who was able to tell them that all the evils which they were appointed to investigate he had foretold in his written evidence submitted to the Cunliffe Currency Committee in January, 1919, which is the subject matter of this little book.

The author's analysis of the present financial system is positively devastating and no person interested in social problems can afford to miss reading it. Not only as a distinguished engineer, with hundreds of patents issued to him for his inventions, and also as a fine musician, but more especially as a doyen of the money school of economics anything Mr. Kitson writes deserves respect. As one of those who have never been able to accept the theory that changing the system of money or land tenure by fiat of Congress and leaving intact every other social institution will bring us peace and plenty, but accepting the statement that "society is an organism" the following from Mr. Kitson expresses our own viewpoint:

"I am always amused when I read or hear of a *permanent* remedy for the world's economic ills, and especially when economists talk of 'fixed and immutable laws' governing trade and society. Society is an organism, and is constantly changing, and the policies which may operate favorably at one stage of society's development may become disastrous at another stage. This is one of the causes of the present troubles. Man's laws are static and should become obsolete at the end of a certain period. Today we are governed by the ignorance and superstition of the dead past, which has been incorporated in our written statutes. And in the face of this, the public are continually told that they

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The Labor Movement and the Reaction in Great Britain

By WILLIAM MAINWARING

The position of the Revolutionary Movement among the workers of Great Britain is disheartening. There is no revolutionary propaganda; there appears to be an entire lack of Revolutionary ideas, and yet there is brooding over all a sense of waiting, a sense of an impending catastrophe, which no one seems able or willing to avert. The workers themselves are for the most part apathetic; their Gods have betrayed them, and no new Gods appear upon the horizon. The lower middle class (*petits Bourgeois*) are waiting and watching. Fascism in many guises is lurking in obscure corners also waiting and watching, and meanwhile the Great Trade Union movement is fiddling with its Political toys whilst the clouds gather which may easily bring down upon it irretrievable ruin.

Here are a few figures which well illustrate the culpable indifference of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and also of all the component Trades Unions to their real business—that which they were created for—and their criminal preoccupation with the Political side of the movement. In 1933, taking the figures from the Board of Trade Gazette (Governmental), there were 11,000,000 persons registered as employed in insurable occupations. This figure takes no account of the large army of agricultural workers nor of domestic workers male and female; two occupations that are non-insurable. Nor does the figure include the many thousands of unemployed who for various reasons have been struck off the registers during this Government's term of office. Add these figures to the B.O.T. Gazette figure of 11,000,000 and there is a total of nearly 12,000,000 manual workers. Out of this vast army of potential fighters there is little more than one-third organized in the suitable Trades Unions. The membership of the Unions a year ago was 4,670,000. The decrease in membership since the year 1921 is 3,728,000. The actual increase in membership since 1913 (20 years) is 11%, and this in the face of a very much larger working population.

There are many reasons that account for this immense loss of members. Widespread unemployment is perhaps the most important. The unemployment figure still fluctuates round about the 3,000,000 mark, and most of these unemployed, particularly in the unskilled, and semi-skilled trades, have let their membership lapse. Another and far more significant cause of the slump can be found in the political situation which arose two and a half years ago when the present Tory Nationalist Government was returned to office and when the two Gods of the politico-Labourists — McDonald and Phillip Snowden — so bare-facedly and cynically betrayed the trust that these deluded workers had placed in them. For 40 years the Trades Unions have carried on an intensive campaign amongst the workers in order to create and foster what they call a political conscience and which had for its aim the returning of Labourists and T. U. officials to parliament. So successful has been this campaign that today to the mass of the workers the Socialist-Parliamentary move-

ment and the T. U. movement are one and the same thing. In these circumstances the rattling of Snowden and McDonald and the smashing defeat suffered by the Labour Party at the last General election was bound to react on the membership of the Unions and thousands lost all further interest in a movement which, they felt, had badly let them down, and which, they considered, was but a rotten reed to lean upon. Far from this very striking object lesson teaching the big centralized Unions a much needed lesson it seems but to have confirmed them in their blind folly. Their constant cry now is to build up once again a powerful Socialist and Trade Union Party in the House of Commons. Money, time and energy are expended on fighting every by-election that occurs, and meanwhile the 8,000,000 of that 12,000,000 still go their sorry way unorganized and dumb.

It is more important to increase the 6,000,000 votes at the next general elections than to have a militant army of 12,000,000 ready to fight for real Socialism through their all-powerful Trades Union organization. And so they fiddle while the clouds gather.

But the officials of the official T. U. movement do not want to fight for real Socialism—that is the Social Revolution. Their so-called Socialism is known as Gradualism. The doctrine of piecemeal social amelioration of which McDonald and Snowden were the high priests. And in their wilful blindness or crass ignorance they imagine that the possessing classes are going to stand idly by while their privileges are filched from them little by little until at long last they wake some fine spring morning and find the last of their entrenched positions of monopoly and power fallen, and full-fledged Socialism firmly established in the seats of the mighty. In the course of which serene and peaceful progress many careers will have been made, and many dustmen have risen to the dizzy rank of Cabinet ministers or Prime Minister. Such is the dream of Gradualism, but the realization of such a dream pre-supposes the acquiescence of the other side in this slow disintegration of their power. And this meek and kindly acquiescence is very far from being a fact. There has been for many years since the war much outspoken criticism of the effectiveness of Parliamentary Government and it is a very significant fact that the most outspoken of this criticism has come from members of that class of society whose privileges Socialism would attack. The core of all such criticism being that Parliamentary methods of Government having served their purpose (the raising of the upper middle-class to power) they can now be scrapped. Further, that the use of this machine by another class for their accession in turn to power is illogical and absurd. Nor does this grumbling at Parliament come from any Fascist thought or instigation. Some of it indeed goes much farther back than Mussolini's Fascism.

Meanwhile the Fascists (there are two or three different brands) are watching and waiting. Whilst the
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Drama Awakening

By M. JAGENDORF

Drama in America is awakening!—This has been an unusual season. Splendid plays have been produced. Plays which have attempted to lighten a little the darkness of the drama—of the world. These plays have tried to dig down into the cells of the cancers of America—of the world. What is even more encouraging is that these plays have succeeded financially on Broadway. Does that indicate that they have been cast in excellent dramatic form or that there is a stirring among the half-witted? Probably both. The theatre is prospering while pudgy little business men are stroking their greasy hands and complaining bitterly against the Bolshevik Union, Mr. Roosevelt and the N.R.A. And the reason for this prosperity is that the theatre has something vital and live to say. The plays it presents are red-blooded and vital.

* * *

First of all stands *Tobacco Road*. What a slap in the face of grandiloquent Southern Chivalry—all the grand and fine ideals of south of the Mason and Dixon line. The first reaction of the Northerner—or of any man who thinks his fellow beings have a right to at least the fundamentals of existence—is bewildered astonishment, incredulity that such a condition can exist anywhere in the world, let alone in enlightened, progressive America, “The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.” What a terrible indictment of the “pure” American mentality! standards of living! morals! Touch any spot in the life of the people who live on Tobacco Road and any idealism at all is lost, torn to tatters. All codes of humanity to one’s fellow men are mutilated beyond recognition. Kindness becomes a hideous jungle of avarice; generosity, consideration, manhood become a chaos of hallucinations. And all in the great and glorious South! The land of the last bulwark of the superior White Man against the inferior Nigger. I wonder what the fine ladies and gentlemen of the best Southern families think of Lester Jeeter and his family and neighbors. For swine live better than they do, skunks have a higher standard of morality. If this condition actually exists, and I have been told that the play understates rather than exaggerates it, then we who call ourselves Americans should bow our heads in shame. It is a stinking cesspool in our national existence.

Theatrically, *Tobacco Road* is a superb presentation. The actors of the Russian Art Theatre could learn many fine points from Henry Hull and Margaret Wycherly. Mr. Hull’s performance is a landmark of acting on the American stage.

* * *

And here is another phase of the South: *They Shall Not Die*, by John Wexley, presented by the Theatre Guild. It deals with the Scottsboro Trial. Once again there is abject shame and sorrow and a tragic indictment of the South—or it might be Golden California, or pious Boston. The depths of darkness to be found in men, almost all men, is beyond understanding! (It resounds to the honor of a New York jury that the

Terzani trial terminated in a just manner.) *They Shall Not Die* is an example of a fair play raised to great heights by the passion of its theme and great acting on the part of Claude Rains. Mr. Rains is fundamentally an heroic actor. He can fill the stage by just walking on. In the last act his performance is lifted by sheer force of his personality, to heights of passion and power that sweep the audience off its feet. It is marvelous theatre!

* * *

This season has been a fine one for American drama. Why? Because we have something to say. Great drama has always risen during the great struggles of a nation, and we are now in the midst of a great struggle. “That what a man feels intensely he struggles to speak out of him, to see represented before him in visual shape.”

* * *

Another Guild play that stands out is Anderson’s *Mary of Scotland*—written in fine poetry with fine poetical feeling. It will go down in the history of the drama as an outstanding work of art. In it the language marches along with the breath and beauty of the story.

* * *

The Shattered Lamp is one more dramatic work which stands to the fore by sheer force of its outcry against inhumanity. It presents a tense and vital problem which may turn into a tragic menace to all the world. The play deals with besotted Germany and the Mad Dog who rules it. It shows the inhuman persecution of the fools who will not fight.

The passion of the theme is expressed in the same vein by the actors, giving the play a swing and power and moral significance which are not seen often enough on the stage.

* * *

Then of course there is *Peace on Earth*. This play, which has been brought from the 14th Street Theater to Broadway, is another smashing indictment of our inhuman social-economic system. Put it down on your list of worth-while plays.

* * *

The dramatic season has also been rich in comedies and musical shows. Particularly the latter. There is gusto in the satire, which is a sign of healthy criticism. *As Thousands Cheer* respects no man nor institution. A later arrival, *New Faces*, is an unusually pleasant evening’s entertainment, hilariously funny in its little digs at men and manners. *The Follies*, too, this year are out of the ordinary.

In straight comedy there is *The Pursuit of Happiness* which has a last line that is worth a whole evening’s wait—if you like Rabelaisian humor. There should also be mentioned *No More Ladies* which, like the others mentioned, will help you forget the tragedies of existence—for an evening.

All in all there is fare on Broadway today richer than that of many a season. And the theatre is prospering. For somehow we find a way to see what we intensely desire to see. If only we could be imbued with a similar determination when it comes to carrying out the desire to bring a little more equality and contentment into the world!

SHORT REVIEWS—(Continued from page 4)

are a 'self-governing' people. I am an old inventor, and my experience has taught me that one can never obtain perfection in one operation. This is only obtained by patient and continued trials, alterations, and improvements. So it must be with any financial or trade policy. We must try schemes and see how they work before we can know that they are beneficial. I could prescribe a dozen methods for ridding the world of its evils, but nobody could guarantee which would prove the best in practice until after the trial. The man who claims he can cure the world with one prescription never yet tried, should be regarded as either an ignoramus or a charlatan." The last is too sharp a distinction. We know a number of people who are neither ignoramuses nor charlatans who believe like Mr. Larkin, for instance, that changing one thing will set a topsy-turvy world right. They are merely naïve.

From Debt to Prosperity. An introduction to the Proposals of Social Credit, by J. Crate Larkin. Published by the New Economics Group of New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Price 10 cents.

This 62-page pamphlet is an excellent introduction to the proposals of Social Credit and deserves a wide reading for it shows that the banker rules society and not the capitalist. Failure to understand this is bound to result in failure to understand the mechanism of our present system. The "A plus B" theory which has puzzled many people is explained in a simple manner and one sees how the worker and producer are unable to buy back the product of their labor with the wages they receive.

The most attractive feature of Social Credit is that relating to the social dividend which in effect means, considering a nation as a unit, that every man, woman and child in it should be a shareholder and as such is entitled to a dividend based on the total wealth of the country, irrespective of whether the individual produces anything or not. This is based upon the fact that our present system of production is the result not only of the efforts of the present generation but of countless generations past and gone and that the mere fact of being born therefore entitles one to a share in the advantages of that civilization.

The weakest part of the pamphlet lies in the foreword on page one, wherein the author says, "Should the principles of Social Credit be put into operation today by the President and Congress of the United States, within three months the welfare of American citizens would be won, and America could enjoy the prosperity of plenty to which it is entitled by its present resources." To assume in one breath that Social Credit is so revolutionary in its fundamentals that it will break the stranglehold of the ruling class on the great mass of workers and producers and at the same time to assert that it can be done "in a manner which will involve no violent revolution, and would sacrifice neither the liberty nor property of anyone" seems to us to be flying in the face of logic and history. Changes in property rights so fundamental that they will take control out of the hands of those now ruling society involve revolution and it is folly to assume otherwise.

In spite of this the pamphlet contains much valuable information and should be read, for it is expressive of a new and growing movement which seeks to solve the social problem without recourse to tyranny and dictatorship.

FASCISM—(Continued from page 2)

for periods up to five years to little insanitary islands, "without any trial." No one who is not a Fascist can obtain a job on public bodies; and for the non-fascist it is difficult, or altogether impossible in some cases, to obtain any work. There is no free Press whatever, no elections, no possibility of meeting for discussing anything unorthodox. For short, there is not ONE of those liberties that distinguish a free man from a slave.

Therefore we have no hesitation in stating that all propaganda describing Fascism as the "way-out" of the difficulties that beset democratic countries is a criminal swindle, and we appeal to all true MEN to fight relentlessly against Fascism, for our natural right, FREEDOM.

It is not sufficient to just join a group, one must be constantly active and pass on this information.

The Price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance.

Reprinted from London "Freedom"

BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT—(Cont. from p. 5)

present Government remains in power there is little danger of their activities taking a more definite form than propaganda. But should the Labor Party be returned in sufficient numbers at the next election to form a Government, then it is more than probable that the activities of these various Fascist organizations will take on a more sinister and provocative form. To support this contention it has to be remembered that during the general strike of May, 1926, there sprang up, almost over night it seemed, a fully equipped organization of young middle-class hooligans ready organized to voluntarily run all the essential services.

Despite all these facts the Trade Union movement is making no preparation to meet this very real danger. Having passed a wordy resolution at the last Trade Union Congress, held at Brighton, to the effect that the T. U. movement of this country would not tolerate a dictatorship either from the left or right, it sits with folded arms, or goes back to its Political toys content to think that when the clash comes it can protect itself behind a paper resolution.

Such is in brief the lamentable position of the great Trade Union movement in Great Britain at the beginning of 1934. A movement with a long history behind it of strenuous fighting and endeavor it has degenerated since it became politically minded some 40 years ago into a mere nursery and breeding ground for would-be statesmen and politicians.

There is no reason for thinking otherwise than should a coup be attempted in this country on the lines of Hitlerism the Parliamentary Democracy and the T. U. movement would collapse as completely as it did in Germany. The only hope lies in the rank and file, and that, judging by the present indications, is very cold comfort. (*Reprinted from I.W.M.A. Bulletin.*)

BOOK REVIEW

Preachers Present Arms, by Ray H. Abrams. Round Table Press, N. Y. 1933.

Since the building up of the navies of the chief signers of the Kellogg Peace Pact and the resultant protests from thousands of churches, it is well to recall the statement of this author that in 1915 more than 95% of the ten thousand ministers answering a questionnaire were opposed to an increase of armaments, yet in two years only seventy ministers were found who opposed the resulting war. Mr. Abrams feels that there is no reason to believe that in the next war the parsons will not lead the attack for a new "Holy War."

Radicals have long known that "religion is the opiate of the people," but it is well to have the documentary evidence of the linking of the Church and the State which proves that the latter is as much an opiate as the former. The official Catholic position, that "The man who is disloyal to the flag is disloyal to Christianity; the State must be obeyed under pain of incurring the guilt of mutiny against God," is quoted. This is also the official position of the Christian Science Church today. It is interesting to note that those churches which are the most disciplined are the ones that furnished practically no opposition to the War, about two-thirds of the pacifist preachers coming from the loosely united groups of Unitarian, Congregationalist, Universalist and Baptist churches, in the order named.

While Newell Dwight Hillis is not here to continue his appeal that the church be made into a recruiting station for the army, and there is little chance of his plan for the sterilization of Germans being approved, yet the Y.M.C.A. which vied with him in 1917 in calling upon Christians to die in battle and go to heaven is still with us in growing respectability. Quotations from the famous instructions to soldiers, wherein they are told that "the eye can easily be removed by the finger," and that "I wouldn't enter this work till I could see Jesus himself sighting down a gun barrel and running a bayonet through an enemy's body," are given. This advice from the Y.M.C.A. seemed to please the Rev. John Kelman, but he deplored the profanity in the army; while Harold Bell Wright, the religious writer, felt that "the sword of America is the sword of Jesus." The "best people" of today still support the Y.M.C.A. and the Boy Scouts. The author's quotation from Hawthorne regarding the killing of witches—"clergymen, judges, statesmen—the wisest, calmest, holiest persons of their days—stood in the inner circle around the gallows, loudest to applaud the work of blood, latest to confess themselves miserably deceived"—applies very well today.

Lest radicals be encouraged now by the talk of peace and of refusal of students to go to the next war, and later be discouraged by the very few who will have the nerve to follow these good intentions, it is well to look over the figures given concerning the C. O.'s in 1917. Out of 2,810,296 men, 363,022 were not accounted for; 3,989 claimed objections; 1,300 went to non-combatant service; 1,200 were furloughed to agriculture; 99 to Friends Reconstruction Unit; and but 450, or less than 2,000th of 1%, were Absolutists and went

to jail. The following statement of the issue, made by Rev. Bridges of Chicago and approved by the Secretary of War, presents a thought for all of us and especially for any young people who have written to me since reading my article on Preparing for War in a recent issue of FREEDOM: "There is no ethical difference between making a surgical bandage for a wounded man, or knitting a trench helmet for a soldier, or growing corn to feed those who are in any way serving it, and killing an enemy with one's own hands. . . . If any one of you buys a Liberty Bond . . . please remember that in doing so you are taking human life." This evasion of the issue, as well as the Communist foolishness of joining the army to "bore from within" and shoot the capitalist (when he is in safety miles away), needs to be thought through. The individual initiative upon which the Anarchist depends thus remains the chief support of real objection to war.

AMMON A. HENNACY

DANCE AND PACKAGE PARTY

under the auspices of the

RUDOLF ROCKER CENTRE GROUP

to be held at

Free Workers' Centre

219 SECOND AVENUE, N. Y. C.

SATURDAY, MAY 12, AT 8 P.M.

Financial Report for February and March, 1934

INCOME

Cash on Hand	\$10.44
Net Profit FREEDOM Annual Ball	32.06
Tania Shapiro—Contribution to Ball	5.00
Los Angeles Group (through B. Schatz)	11.50
Dr. M. A. Cohn—Pledge—Feb. and March	10.00
Pledges as follows	Total 14.00
Marc Epstein, \$5.00; D. Isacovitz (2 mos.) \$2.00; Sarah Cohen, Jack Frager, Elsie Kelly, C. Comorau (2 mos.) \$1. ea.	

Union of Russian Workers

5.00

Contributions and Subscriptions, as follows:

Total 39.85

Fred Hornstein, \$3.00; Otto Wieck, C. Pagella, A. Goldman, S. W. Simpson, A. Abrantis, A. Livshis, Wasilewsky, L. Fagnani, H. Blecker, \$2.00 ea.; Michael Capon, \$1.25; Fanny Piltz, \$1.10; L. Buck, R. Joffe, Dr. Lehmann, P. M. Vostoff, H. Price, F. Yellin, Kietchen (China), Ye Olde Weaver, V. Hallberg, M. E. Fitzgerald, John Buckie, Louis Adron, A. Pirasis, Alex. Bagnerini, Kletchko, \$1.00 ea.; Alfonso Cordoba, John Barash, 50 cents ea.; Roy Schesser, C. B. Watkins, 25 cents each.

FREEDOMS Sold

6.50

Total

\$184.85

EXPENSES

Printer for February Issue (Plus \$10 bl. for Jan.)	\$74.53
Loan Payments—Feb. and March	20.00
Mailing FREEDOM—January and February	18.71
Mailing Special Letter	3.40
Stencils and Miscellaneous	1.90
Postage	2.77

Total

\$121.31

Cash on Hand

\$ 18.04

ACCOUNTS OUTSTANDING

Printer	\$375.00
Loan	60.00
Comrade	12.90

Total

\$447.90

Every comrade is being sent acknowledgment by mail for all monies received but to show our real appreciation for the splendid response to our call, we wish to publicly thank one and all, and to hope that the funds continue to swell rapidly.

LECTURES AND OPEN FORUMS

will be conducted as usual on Wednesdays and Sundays, at the Free Workers' Centre, 219 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.